

We Made the Change by Talking About It

Movement Narratives of Antiviolence Activism in the Radical Environmental Organization Cascadia Forest Defenders

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Left-leaning activist movements in the United States have a long history of confronting oppressive behaviors of the State—and non-State opponents—alongside attempts to deal with *intramovement* power struggles. These tensions reveal patterns of oppressive and aggressive behavior that reinforced gendered and racial hierarchies, which many groups made concerted efforts to dismantle.¹ This article provides an analysis of how narratives and counternarratives were deployed to reinforce and resist patterns of abusive and violent behavior within Cascadia Forest Defenders (CFD), a grassroots environmental organization based in Eugene, Oregon. CFD was founded in 1995 by a group of mostly white activists in their twenties and thirties—University of Oregon students, activists from the grassroots environmental network Earth First!, and a few Eugene locals.² Their first major victory came in 1996, with the halting of logging in an area known as Warner Creek in the Willamette National Forest. The Willamette National Forest—like Eugene and surrounding towns—exists on land stolen from the Kalapuya people during the colonization of the Pacific Northwest, a fact obscured by CFD's suggestion that national forests are "public land."³ In 1998 CFD set up tree-sits in the Clark timber sale, an area of old-growth forest in the Willamette National Forest at risk of being logged.⁴ The timber sale's

proximity to Fall Creek, a popular recreation site, led CFD to choose the latter name for their tree-sits.⁵ Humus, a white male CFD activist, worked on the Fall Creek campaign and acknowledged the impact that "lots of dysfunctional people, lots of men with anger management issues" had in the early days. John, a white CFD activist, observed some of these conflicts playing out: "There was issues constantly being sorted out by the crew and as usual for the time it was either things didn't get said or all of a sudden somebody's really, you know, on the outs."⁶

CFD dealt with these issues alongside *intragroup* disagreements over tactics and strategy. Denali—a white woman who got involved with CFD around 1995—suggested that some original members disagreed with the use of tree-sits at Fall Creek.⁷ However, ultimately the tree-sits were put up.⁸ CFD's sits generally consisted of two pieces of wood—approximately 4 feet x 7 feet—connected by smaller sections of wood to encircle the tree.⁹ They were deliberately built high, in the canopy of trees often 250 feet tall, to make it harder for U.S. Forest Service officials to arrest the activists occupying them.¹⁰ Tree-sits depended on activists maintaining a constant presence in the trees and required significant levels of support from town. Denali summarized this in regard to movement tactics:

A lot of people were critical of the Fall Creek campaign as a strategic decision because tree-sit campaigns are really resource-dependent. They require a lot of input and constant support, and they require a lot of energy.¹¹

Tree-sitters remained in their sits around the clock, necessitating regular food drop-offs from town and the disposal of human waste.¹² The often fraught relationship between tree-sitters and those who did "town support" became a gendered dynamic within CFD. At Fall Creek, town support work often fell to women—the majority of whom were white—while it was primarily white men who spent long periods of time in sits.¹³ The act of tree-sitting came to be viewed as more heroic than the support work that made tree-sitting possible. Wind, a white woman who did

town support for CFD, identified the gendered nature of this dynamic: "When it became clear that the sitters in the tree were almost exclusively men, and that the carriers of support were almost exclusively women, we thought, you know, that doesn't feel fair."¹⁴

Within CFD, gendered frictions between the activists in the woods—who began referring to themselves as Red Cloud Thunder—and activists in town intersected with tensions between Red Cloud Thunder (RCT) and the older generation of CFD activists. These original or "old-guard" activists had founded CFD during their year-long blockade of Warner Creek from 1995 to 1996.¹⁵ Central to this generational conflict was RCT's quasi-anti-authoritarian stance, which rejected nonviolent civil disobedience tactics used at Warner Creek and other CFD actions. Denali discussed this in relation to the age and background of the tree-sitters:

One of the things that made Fall Creek different was that we didn't have a codified or articulated non-violence mission statement attached to the campaign. . . . The development of the ideology around it sort of just evolved over time with, like . . . we had a lot of really young people getting involved in the campaign, right at the very beginning.¹⁶

This approach to nonviolence was connected to a wider denunciation of policies and actions believed to be "imposed" by town-based CFD activists. In practice this manifested as hostility toward "radical feminists" in CFD—and the wider anarchist scene in Eugene—who had called out sexual violence and abuse taking place at Fall Creek and campaign spaces in town.¹⁷ The repeated acts of interpersonal violence to occur at Fall Creek were representative of a wider pattern within anarchist-oriented environmentalist circles in Eugene as well as tree-sitting campaigns throughout Oregon and Washington.¹⁸

Eco-anarchist movement narratives that privileged white masculinity and enabled abusive behavior are an example of what sociologist Robert D. Benford labels "status quo stor[ies]."¹⁹ These narratives functioned as "internal social control mechanisms," to guide and restrict personal and group feelings and actions about violence and oppression within the eco-anarchist

movement. As "social control processes," the stories were met with resistance by movement actors who leveraged their oppositional narratives to bring about "a different, more desirable, ending."²⁰ The "status quo story" that emerged in many participant narratives was a tacit acceptance of interpersonal abuse within CFD as well as the wider eco-anarchist community in Eugene. Wind, a white, cisgender woman, remembered the extent of rape and abuse apologism she experienced, and how particular feminists were targeted for suggesting: "No, you don't get to grope your fellow tree-sitter, and then the next morning pretend like it's fine."²¹ Here the status quo narratives being challenged were rooted in the dominance of white masculinity that manifested in a sense of entitlement to women's bodies and labor.²² However, CFD activists drew on white feminist action frames to develop and establish oppositional narratives rather than frames that challenged racism and misogyny in the group simultaneously. Here I am drawing on sociologist Joseph E. Davis's definition of collective action frames, which, according to him, develop via "an interactive and negotiated process as a group consciously fashions its grievances, strategies, and reasons for action by drawing on and modifying existing cultural beliefs and symbols."²³ The "white feminist" action frames that CFD developed created space for women to share their experiences of sexual violence; however, these frames continued to center whiteness by promoting understandings of sexual violence that did not explore its relationship to white supremacy.

The primary aim of this article is to examine changes in CFD's status quo narrative around sexual violence and misogyny from 2000 to 2005. I explore how these changes drew upon white feminist framings of misogyny and violence that failed to challenge racism, transphobia, and ableism effectively. In the section Introducing Cascadia Forest Defenders and Eco-Anarchist Activism I outline CFD's use of direct action tactics and its relationship to the

regional eco-anarchist activist milieu. In *Intersections of State and Interpersonal Violence* I look at how CFD's movement narratives around state repression centered whiteness. Drawing on the work of scholars Kimberlé Crenshaw and Andrea Smith—as well as anti-violence activism led by people of color (POC)—I offer an intersectional analysis of how police violence, state surveillance, and sexual violence maintain white supremacist, settler-colonialist power relations in the United States. In "You Are Keeping the Male [Tree-] Sitters Happy", I suggest that between 1997 and 2003 CFD's movement narratives and collective action frames enabled a culture of white male entitlement at various tree-sit campaigns. In this section I draw on Joseph E. Davis's definition of collective action frames to articulate how CFD's action frames reflected broader "cultural beliefs and symbols" relating to sexual violence, feminism, and white masculinity.²⁴ I also outline how "white feminist" action frames were used in response to repeated acts of sexual violence and harassment by white men against white women at Fall Creek. Drawing on Crenshaw's notion of intersectionality I examine how these frames exclude the needs and experiences of women of color and link this to Julie Zeilinger's definition of white feminism as a feminist movement that is "prioritizing the experiences and voices of cissexual, straight, white women over women of color, queer women and those who fall outside this narrow identity."²⁵ I identify the collective action frames CFD used as "white feminist" frames to highlight how they centered the needs of white, physically able-bodied, and cisgender women in the campaign.

I return to status quo narratives and white feminist counternarratives in {Copyeditor: this is also a quote used as a section title} "Eventually What Happened Was the Great Schism." In this section I look at how sharing white women's accounts of rape (by fellow members of CFD) led to a shift in the group's movement narrative around sexual violence. As more incidents of

sexual assault and abuse came to light in CFD, survivors in these groups and their supporters advocated for changes to make tree-sits and campaign spaces safer. I draw on Benford's analysis of the temporal nature of movement narratives to outline how feminists in CFD challenged the organization's responses to sexual violence, rejecting the group's "status quo story" and instead promoting "an alternative middle that they posit (or at least hope) will lead to a different, more desirable, ending."²⁶ This desired ending—an organization that empowered women and challenged abusive behavior—is explored in depth in "Moving Beyond a Culture of Corsets and Clearcuts". I consider how the development of a women only (and then women and trans only) tree-sit in the Straw Devil timber sale outside Eugene can be understood through the lens of safety for white women. This section also explores who was able to access these women-only tree-sits and action camps. In combination these efforts may have made tree-sits and other campaign spaces safer for some women, but they failed to challenge systemic racism, ableism, or transmisogyny within the group. In conclusion, I outline how CFD's use of white feminist narratives between 2000 to 2005 impacts a younger generation of CFD activists.

A qualitative breakdown of CFD's membership by gender, race, class, sexuality, and ability is challenging to establish retroactively, especially in regard to campaigns between 1995 and 2005—the period on which my research focuses. A review of archival material, both written and visual, suggests a group comprised primarily of white, physically able-bodied, and cisgender-passing individuals.²⁷ Scholar Deanna Meyler's 2001 research on diversity in tree-sit campaigns in the Pacific Northwest reached a similar conclusion, finding that groups consisted of almost equal numbers of cisgender men and women.²⁸ Wind suggested that as of 2001 CFD was not a welcoming environment for two-spirit, transgender, or non-binary individuals.²⁹ From 2003 onward, however, there was greater emphasis on the use of gender neutral pronouns within

CFD's campaigns and purportedly "women only" tree-sits and actions were also opened to transgender, two-spirit, and non-binary people who were assigned female at birth (AFAB).³⁰

Power struggles stemming from racist, settler-colonialist and misogynist attitudes within CFD also need to be understood in relation to how these issues have been handled within the wider Earth First! (EF!) community. Although not all members of CFD identified as Earth First!ers, those who did carried with them the legacy of struggle within EF! to create a less sexist, racist, and homophobic movement. Jack, a white, cisgender, "old school Earth First!er," connected earlier efforts to challenge sexism within Earth First! with issues that CFD faced around "rapes in tree-sits."³¹ He expressed frustration that "the movement" as a whole placed too much emphasis on issues of oppression:

I really feel like this movement did way too much work in that department and became way too focused on that. There was a big phase of the movement that was—[a] time period that was really very focused on identity politics and it—while that is certainly an important issue it's not why I joined Earth First! and Earth First! should pay some attention to it and be very sensitive to it, obviously, like anti-oppression work. But, I feel like the movement went a little too far on that spectrum.³²

His narrative is emblematic of tensions between generations of CFD; in CFD's movement narrative these generations are broken down into *old-guard*, *mid-guard*, and *new-guard*, terms used to refer to activists who joined the group in 1995–97, 1997–2006, or 2008 to the present day, respectively.³³ New-guard narrators referenced conflicts with old-guard CFD activists over efforts to "integrate social justice into our movement" and support the needs of people of color, white women, and trans and non-binary people.³⁴ These tensions indicate that the age of CFD activists has been a factor in group responses to issues like misogyny, racism, sexual violence, and transphobia. All but one of the mid-guard and new-guard activists I interviewed got involved when they were in their late teens or early twenties. The involvement of younger, primarily white and cisgender, mid-guard and new-guard activists in the group played a significant role in CFD's

efforts to become a more feminist organization, one that decentered white gender-normative masculinity through the use of counternarratives and collective action frames, and focused on the needs and experiences of white, physically able-bodied cis women, and AFAB trans and non-binary people. These "white feminist" framings of oppression have been challenged by activists of color within the movements, convergences and organizations that fall within the overlapping left, anarchist, anti-globalization and radical environmental activist milieus in North America.³⁵ There have also been similar efforts to challenge misogyny, transphobia, and ableism within these left-leaning movements.³⁶

A survey of the academic literature on North American-based social justice and environmental groups of the last twenty years reveals limited material on the kinds of intramovement anti-oppression work that has changed movement narratives around racism, misogyny, ableism, transphobia and sexual violence.³⁷ Scholar Bice Maiguashca argues that the "proliferation" of scholarly research on anti-globalization activism does not include research on "the intersections between feminist and anarchist strands."³⁸ Furthermore, theorists Laura Montesinos Coleman and Serena A. Bassi argue a need to examine how "power may be exercised within practices of resistance, so that what appears to be 'from below' may also bolster local and global forms of domination."³⁹ As Coleman and Bassi point out, there have been some recent contributions to research on gender dynamics within global and regional convergences and protests in Europe and South America.⁴⁰ Despite the geographical and cultural differences, this research is relevant to the experiences of women in CFD. There were overlaps between radical environmental and anarchist organizing in Eugene and anti-globalization activism throughout the Northwest; CFD activists also protested global summits elsewhere in the world.⁴¹ In highlighting the growing influence of white feminist action frames within environmental

activism, I do not suggest that all feminists involved in these efforts—or those who benefited from them—were white. I also do not intend to erase efforts to challenge racism or other forms of oppression that may have occurred among individual activists.

Methodology

My involvement in Cascadia Forest Alliance (CFA)—an environmental organization active in Portland, Oregon, between 1996 and 2003—allowed my positioning as a movement insider. Although I was never involved in Cascadia Forest Defenders, the sharing of information and skills and the overlaps of group membership between CFD and CFA offered me a basic understanding of CFD's campaigns as well as some of the internal conflicts the group experienced when particular members were identified as perpetrators of sexual violence or abuse. These intragroup power struggles had a notable effect on CFD—especially since they took place alongside state surveillance of the group.

In order to understand the impact of power struggles between 2000 and 2005, I conducted fifty oral history interviews with eco-anarchist and feminist activists involved in CFD.⁴² Throughout this stage of the research, it became clear that many of the old- and mid-guard activists still struggled with the trauma of their experiences; in many cases they had been subjected to interpersonal violence or state repression during their involvement with CFD. One contested series of events that emerged in multiple interviews concerned an alleged "rape list," purportedly written by local feminists and posted around town. Denali cited the list as evidence that particular "radical feminists" were guilty of "divisiveness" within the wider eco-anarchist community in Eugene:

I felt like there were some people who were . . . in town, especially but that filtered out in the woods—calling out men on . . . and defining men as rapists and using the term "rapist" . . . for things that *just were not*. It was inappropriate. It was like, "OK, because somebody said this really

fucked-up sexist shit to you," it's like, "It doesn't make them a rapist." . . . There was a list publicly posted at one time of like men who were "rapists in our community" and it was just unsubstantiated. There was no accountability . . . and it's not like there wasn't some truth in it, you know? There were some sexual assault perpetrators or sexual assault on the continuum of sexual assault, which is, like being really creepy and stalky, and not really taking "no" for an answer very well kind of stuff.⁴³

Denali's account provides two examples of status quo narratives about feminists and anti-violence work within CFD. First, she notes that feminist efforts to seek accountability for sexual violence perpetrated by eco-anarchist men conflated rape and abuse with sexual harassment.⁴⁴ Second, Denali's claim that there was "no accountability" for the feminists who put the list together—as well as her suggestion that they falsely accused men of sexual assault—shifts responsibility from the reported perpetrators to the activists who supposedly distributed the list. Rocky—a white, non-binary, feminist activist—had an alternate account of the circumstances surrounding the supposed rape list. They referred to the list as "a raindrop in a hurricane" in relation to the prevalence of sexual assault within eco-anarchist circles at the time:

So, first of all, there was so much sexual assault happening that there could have been a list but, in my world, the list is an urban myth. It's an urban legend and a lot of those urban legends happen to obfuscate, again, the issues, because people didn't want to deal with the fact that their friends were beating their girlfriends, or their friend had gone out to the tree-sit and had molested someone in the trees or any number of things that were happening or . . . long story short, that list, um, two friends of mine, one night when I was at work, were at their house . . . they say they got drunk one night and they wrote a list of people . . . they didn't like, that they didn't want to come in their house. Um, immature? Yes. Uh, their business to put it on their door? Yep.⁴⁵

According to Rocky, someone named on the list claimed that it was "a list of rapists" that they were "posting around publicly."⁴⁶ Rocky's account is suggestive of how the dominant narratives about feminist efforts to combat sexual violence misrepresented anti-assault and abuse work. Claims that "radical feminists" were falsely accusing men of rape were a way to discredit attempts to hold culprits of harassment and violence responsible. The divergent narratives of Rocky and Denali are illustrative of continued tensions between factions of the overlapping feminist and eco-anarchist communities in Eugene and within the context of an eco-anarchist

movement narrative that privileged white, physically able-bodied masculinity.

Introducing Cascadia Forest Defenders and Eco-Anarchist Activism

Terms like *eco-anarchist*, *radical environmentalist*, and *forest defender* or *forest activist* have shifting meanings depending on context. Likewise, identifiers like Earth First! can represent movements as well as specific organizations.⁴⁷ Here I offer definitions relevant to the context of my research. Sociologist Rik Scarce argues that radical environmentalists are defined by their reliance on confrontational forms of activism, including civil disobedience and, at times, property destruction.⁴⁸ The terms *forest defender*, *forest activist*, and *tree-sitter* are used by radical environmentalists within groups like CFD to emphasize a focus on forest-based environmental activism.

Despite changes to CFD's movement narrative around sexual violence and misogyny, there is a continued centering of white people's experiences and needs, along with a focus on backwoods protests requiring physically demanding direct action tactics and risk of arrest.⁴⁹ Protests of this style are not accessible to people with physical disabilities, people of color, or undocumented immigrants at increased risk of targeting for arrest or deportation. For example, at Warner Creek a variety of blockade tactics were used, including a "sleeping dragon"—a metal drum filled with concrete buried in the middle of the logging road. On September 10, 1995, Mick Garvin, a thirty-seven-year-old activist with a background in Earth First! forest defense, locked himself to the device. Lying on his side, his arm down a specially inserted pipe, Garvin clipped his chain-wrapped wrist to a pin deep inside the drum, facing off against a Forest Service road grader—machinery that would give loggers access to the Warner Creek burn area the activists sought to protect.⁵⁰ Garvin's lockdown, which successfully blocked Forest Service machinery, is

an example of the high-risk, physically demanding actions celebrated in CFD's movement narrative.

Earth First!, founded in 1980, has been synonymous with radical environmentalism, especially before 2005. The inclusion of anarchist praxis into Earth First!—and by extension Cascadia Forest Defenders—can be traced to tensions within EF! that began in the late 1980s. According to Scarce, an influx of younger activists believed that "a chaotic anarchy could be a means to social change." For them it was impossible to discuss environmental protections without critiques of capitalism and globalization.⁵¹ By the late 1990s, Earth First! networks in Oregon were part of a wider anti-globalization movement. Earth First!ers and anarchists from Eugene played a central role in the WTO meetings in Seattle in 1999.⁵² When discussing Eugene-based radical environmental organizing outside CFD, I use the term *eco-anarchist*. I use *forest activist* to refer to activists within CFD. The term *tree-sitter* is also used to refer to CFD activists who lived full- or part-time in the campaign's tree-sits. I use *eco-anarchist* and *radical environmentalist* interchangeably when referring to overlapping anarchist and environmental social movement networks in the United States and afield.

Intersections of State and Interpersonal Violence

Within CFD and the eco-anarchist community in Eugene, efforts to support survivors and confront misogynist and racist behavior took place against a backdrop of state repression, creating an environment of fear and suspicion that exacerbated existing power struggles. Rocky suggested that this paranoid atmosphere shone "a light on the type of things that would be tolerated during a war situation or stressful situation," including "protecting people who have power that are abusing their power."⁵³ One status quo narrative to emerge from that distrustful atmosphere was the suggestion that undercover police informants may have been masquerading

as survivors—or anti-violence activists—leveling false charges of rape or abuse against white male eco-anarchists. In 2001 a letter distributed around activist spaces in Eugene, attributed to local eco-anarchist activist Sleeve, questioned the practice of believing survivors because doing so would leave the movement vulnerable:

An atmosphere where any person's allegations are automatically believed is a perfect breeding ground for infiltrators bent on destroying the community. Got a problem with anarchists? Send in an attractive female Fed and accuse the most effective members of the community of "rape" (or, perhaps "making women feel unsafe"—you could even put a list of names up on your door). It doesn't matter if there's no evidence whatsoever to actually support the claims.⁵⁴

According to the letter, survivors' accounts should be questioned "because of the simple fact that people lie," and because they might have been undercover law enforcement officers.⁵⁵ Feminists like Rocky supported multiple eco-anarchist survivors and developed a reputation for confronting abusive or threatening men.⁵⁶ Violence and threats were meted out against them as a result, including claims that they—and two other feminists—were part of law enforcement efforts to disrupt the eco-anarchist movement.⁵⁷ This suspicion hinged on the narrative that the anti-violence work carried out by feminists was "causing divisions in our movement and allowing the state to infiltrate."⁵⁸ Rocky shared some of the ways they were targeted:

Eventually as, as things started to really steam-roll in Eugene, things got very violent. Um, for example people tried to burn my house down. They poisoned my garden. They spray painted my name, they put posters up, they supported people stalking me. It was, it was pretty awful actually.⁵⁹

Their account gives some indication of the violence endured by activists who spoke out against dominant eco-anarchist narratives relating to rape and abuse. As Robert D. Benford has argued, status quo narratives—like those outlined earlier in this essay—"function as internal social control mechanisms" that constrict and concentrate "individual as well as collective sentiments, emotions, and action."⁶⁰ The impact of these narratives in Eugene was to "oust" or isolate survivors and their allies. Boudicca, a white female survivor, moved to Eugene after a

failed attempt to hold her ex-partner accountable for abuse. Although this effort occurred in a different town, Boudicca was still treated with suspicion:

When I would bring up having been a survivor of sexual abuse, people would, would look away in horror. It was like I wasn't a person, I was, I was a walking reminder of rape, and all of the devastation that had unleashed upon the community in one way or another.⁶¹

Boudicca gave up forest defense work partly because of the harassment experienced as a survivor of abuse; other activists I interviewed acknowledged a similar pattern of survivors leaving forest activist campaigns after they were abused or raped. The status quo narratives were successfully pushing out survivors who spoke up; it is likely that this had a deterrent effect on other survivors, making it harder for them to share their experiences.⁶²

Status quo narratives deployed by eco-anarchists drew on real fears of infiltration and surveillance. FBI files released in 2012 revealed that between 2002 and 2005 Operation "Seizing Thunder" had investigated Cascadia Forest Defenders.⁶³ The investigation included video, phone, and physical surveillance. By 2004 there were grand jury requests for information relating to CFD and a number of current or former CFD activists were subpoenaed.⁶⁴ Scholar Jules Boykoff identifies state actions such as these as attempts to suppress "collective action, either through raising the costs or minimizing the benefits of mobilization."⁶⁵ State repression against white-dominated social movements like Earth First! and linked radical environmental groups has not been used as a pretext to profile white people more generally. In comparison with Muslim-Americans—targeted because Islam came to be viewed as inherently dangerous and "un-American"—radical environmental activists were deemed suspect primarily because of an adherence to supposedly extremist political beliefs and a willingness to engage in direct action, not for their race or religion, as was the case for Al-Qaeda terrorists.⁶⁶ Scholar and activist Andrea Smith points out that efforts to undermine state surveillance "do not question the state

itself, but rather seek to modify the extent to which and the manner in which the state surveils."⁶⁷ Information and advice on how to "protect" oneself from surveillance and police harassment centered on strategies primarily effective for white activists, failing to acknowledge the additional risks Black, Indigenous and POC (BIPOC) activists face and the role that racial profiling played in surveillance—especially after 9/11. For example, an orientation guide for the regional direct action campaign Cascadia Summer, in which CFD played a central role, advises activists to stay calm in interactions with Forest Service law enforcement officers, because "these are our forests after all . . . we have every right to be there."⁶⁸ This strategy—based on an entitlement to public lands—is an example of what Smith refers to as the "logic of not-seeing."⁶⁹ Claiming ownership over national forests in western Oregon obscures the region's history of colonization. According to historian Ronald Spores, in the early nineteenth century white settlers and traders introduced diseases to the region that killed off the majority of Native people in the area. In the 1850s the federal government forced the local Kalapuya, Molalla, and Clackamas into reservations, giving white settlers—and the state—access to "valuable farm and timber lands."⁷⁰ Cascadia Summer's advice on dealing with law enforcement outside the national forest also overlooks the racialized role of policing in the United States. The subsection A Few Basic Rights states that the police require "specific reasons (not a hunch or a generalization) to believe that you have committed a specific crime or to believe that you're about to commit a specific crime."⁷¹ As a movement narrative, this statement assumes radical environmental activists are white and therefore immune to the violence and harassment that Black, Latinx, and Native Americans routinely face from law enforcement.⁷² The lack of acknowledgment of racial profiling or the targeting of Arab and South Asian Americans as potential terrorists post 9/11 is also striking and glosses over the primary function of state surveillance and police violence—to

maintain the settler colonial state.⁷³

Although forest defense narratives about police violence and surveillance overlook the impact of race in activist–law enforcement interactions, there is still notable distrust of the police. Thus it is unsurprising that survivors and support people in CFD who spoke out about sexual violence almost exclusively pursued non-state solutions, at a time when anti-violence work was increasingly tied to criminal justice and state-based solutions.⁷⁴ Scholar Emily Thuma suggests that "this 'alliance with the state' reflected, as well as inadvertently fuelled, the ascendancy of a law-and-order agenda under the auspices of a highly racialized 'war on crime.'"⁷⁵ In the summer of 1980 the DC Rape Crisis Center—the sole African American–led rape crisis center in the country at the time—hosted the National Conference on Third World Women and Violence. At the conference questions were raised about the supposed benefits of criminal justice solutions and the ways in which they strengthened "the legitimacy of an expanding prison system."⁷⁶ Andrea Smith posits that the limitations placed on organizations that were reliant on federal money meant that:

Their work became state-friendly (such as calling for increased criminalization of domestic and sexual violence) rather than state-resistant (such as violence-prevention initiatives or alternatives to incarceration).⁷⁷

This "state-friendly" approach failed to center the needs of women and trans people of color who are harmed by sexual violence as well as the criminal justice system. Theorist Kimberlé Crenshaw argues that women of color's experiences of abuse and sexual violence are "frequently the produce of intersecting patterns of racism and sexism."⁷⁸ Building on this, Smith suggests that women of color's experiences of interlocking oppressions mean that they frequently understand how to fight effectively against violence on various levels. She believes it necessary to go beyond mere inclusion efforts for marginalized groups and instead to "ask what our

analysis and organizing practice would look like if we centered them in it."⁷⁹ Although feminists in CFD pursued responses to sexual violence that were "state-resistant," their efforts continued to center the experiences of white, physically able-bodied, cisgender women.

Smith's article outlines how this principle of centering the most marginalized was put into practice in INCITE! Women of Color Against Violence. Their alternative strategies emerged from discussions that considered both the needs of women of color—who are persecuted by the criminal justice system—and women with disabilities, for whom the medical system is "as punitive as the criminal justice system."⁸⁰ INCITE! emerged out of the conference Color of Violence: Violence against Women of Color, which Smith helped organize in 2000 at the University of California, Santa Cruz. In the keynote address, activist and scholar Angela Davis discussed the need to develop organizing strategies not reliant on the criminal justice system. She called for a simultaneous challenge to sexual violence by men of color and rejection of characterizations of Black and Latinx men as inherently violent.⁸¹ In 2001 members of INCITE! Women of Color Against Violence joined with the organization Critical Resistance to draft "The Critical Resistance INCITE! Statement on Gender Violence and the Prison Industrial Complex."⁸² Critical Resistance was founded in 1997 with the express purpose of dismantling the "prison-industrial complex."⁸³ The letter was intended as an intervention into the ongoing reliance of the anti-violence movement on the state, particularly criminal justice solutions to violence; the authors of the letter also addressed the fact that activism against policing, prisons, and state repression did not meet the needs of women of color who were sexual violence and abuse survivors.⁸⁴ The Color of Violence conference, the founding of INCITE! and the joint letter, alongside the National Conference on Third World Women and Violence of 1980, produce two observations. First, the mainstream anti-violence movement of the 1980s and 1990s had

continued on a trajectory of "collaborating with the state" to pursue criminal justice responses to sexual violence and abuse.⁸⁵ Second, this trajectory—along with a bureaucratization of rape crisis centers and domestic violence shelters—was linked to the ongoing marginalization of women of color. The mainstream, white-dominated anti-violence movement failed to center their needs or the needs of trans, two-spirit, and non-binary people of color.⁸⁶ Feminists in CFD also seemingly displayed a lack of interest in environmental work led by women of color.⁸⁷

According to Squirrel, the group did not reach out to BIPOC communities:

A big part was, we didn't invite them. Not that poc were NOT invited. . . . We didn't reach out to magazines that serve communities of color. No targeted posters, or coalition building happened. It takes effort to get people together for an action. It takes more effort to reach outside of your community to recruit more diverse help.⁸⁸

Squirrel's account is indicative of how, in the words of Andrea Smith, "attempts at multicultural interventions have unwittingly strengthened the white supremacy" within groups that utilize the frame of "inclusion."⁸⁹ Squirrel positions communities of color outside her community, a positioning that mirrors how the group continued to utilize eco-anarchist movement narratives that focused on wilderness protection above environmental justice issues that primarily impacted people of color and low-income white people in the United States.⁹⁰

The white feminist frames used by feminists in CFD should be understood in relation to the white-dominated anti-violence movement but also contextualized in relation to Eugene's wider eco-anarchist community framing of issues of oppression. *Anarchists are going to eat your children*, a zine put out by eco-anarchists in Eugene circa 2000, discusses police harassment against anarchists. In the run-up to an eco-anarchist protest on June 18, 1999, local police officers profiled and detained individuals who "fit the 'description' of anarchists or punks."⁹¹ The anonymous author(s) of the zine suggested that the actions of the police went against the Eugene Police Department's own policies:

Think about what it means to be stopped by the police just for looking a certain way. It seems that the police feel comfortable stretching or breaking their own rules in order to "prevent" rules from being broken. The end result is that too many people were stopped, detained, and questioned—and threatened too—simply for looking a certain way.⁹²

In this way white eco-anarchists in Eugene were able to mobilize a movement narrative that presented themselves as victims of "profiling" by a police force that also had a practice of racially profiling Black and Latinx residents.⁹³ The zine even half-jokingly suggested that the targeting of eco-anarchists by law enforcement might have reduced police harassment against Black and Latinx communities. Such a narrative glosses over the reality of increased harassment for eco-anarchists of color while obscuring the significant differences between the profiling of local Latinx and Black residents based on race, and the profiling of predominantly white activists based primarily on their (politically linked) clothing choices.⁹⁴ This obfuscation conceals the role white privilege played in police-activist interactions. The author(s) expressed outrage for treatments that white activists had likely been sheltered from prior to their involvement in eco-anarchist activism. When considered alongside Cascadia Summer's advice for how to respond to law enforcement, it seems that the dominant narrative within CFD and the wider forest activist movement excluded Black and Latinx experiences of police violence.⁹⁵

Eco-anarchist movement narratives that glorified street protests, property destruction, and battles with the police helped maintain race-, ability-, and gender-based hierarchies. Rocky suggested that eco-anarchist activists developed movement narratives that obfuscated experiences of oppression, promoting white, physically able-bodied masculinity and increasingly confrontational street protests:

As a community people thought "Oh, we're anarchists. We're oppressed." Like I said, [they] had no intersectional [awareness] . . . you know, it's different to be a person of color in a wheelchair and be an anarchist than to be a white guy. I can throw a brick at a cop then I run and hide in a house. That cop's going to grab the first marginalized person they see with consequences that are a lot greater.⁹⁶

There are echoes here of Coleman and Bassi's "Anarchist Action Man"—their term for activists who "belong to a very specific subject: the white, young, able-bodied, heterosexual male." This figure "informs the primary political practice of the movement: direct action."⁹⁷ The participant and movement narratives I have captured demonstrate that there was a privileging of white masculinity within CFD up to 2003. This privileging is evident in movement narratives that celebrated skills traditionally coded as masculine, like the construction and maintenance of tree-sits. The centering of white masculinity, particularly at Fall Creek, was also evident in efforts to deny or excuse abuse and harassment carried out by white male tree-sitters.

"You Are Keeping the Male [Tree-]Sitters Happy, by Whatever Means Necessary" ^{AAA}

Feminist activists in Eugene were doing grassroots anti-violence work in a variety of ways.⁹⁸ Some ways were rooted in awareness of intersecting oppressions, with other efforts continuing to center white women.⁹⁹ The Against Patriarchy conferences in Eugene from 2001 to 2003 are examples of feminist organizing that adopted an intersectional approach to challenging violence and misogyny.¹⁰⁰ The statement "One Male's Perspective on Patriarchy and Forest Defense," by Dustin, was one of a series of articles available on the Against Patriarchy conference website. Dustin encourages men in the "eco-activist" community to "take responsibility for their privilege" and hold themselves and other men accountable.¹⁰¹ Dustin's statement is an example of the kinds of participant narratives that contributed to white feminist understandings of male privilege, abuse, and masculinity within CFD. Although the Against Patriarchy conference offered workshops that were critical of whiteness and white masculinity, Dustin's article suggests that this may have had limited impact on CFD activists, who continued to view conflicts at Fall

^{AAA} Press prefers not to have endnote superscripts with subheads.

Creek as primarily about gender. This framing is evident in Denali's account of the status quo narrative at Fall Creek that CFD's feminists were keen to change:

It was almost like Eugene was like the laboratory where the scientists were talking about stuff. Or there, there was the classroom—and then Fall Creek was like the petri dish, you know? Like, it's like, . . . "We need to dismantle patriarchy and we need to do this," and then out at Fall Creek it was like, total, like, *war* [begins to laugh] between men and women . . . on a lot of levels.¹⁰²

In CFD's movement narrative, Fall Creek is associated with a culture of entitlement that enabled abusive and violent behavior toward white women. The printed archival material I have accessed also centers on events at Fall Creek. Many narrators spoke of sexual violence occurring in tree-sits and campaign spaces, and Fall Creek became representative of what one narrator referred to as "rape culture CFD."¹⁰³ One striking example of how Fall Creek developed this reputation is in the response to the exclusion of abusive men from Fall Creek in the winter of 2001. After the men left, there was a women-only month, where all the tree-sits were occupied by women.¹⁰⁴ Some of the men returned in the spring and built what some referred to as the "patriarchy pod," a blockade on the road to the tree-sits, allowing them to control access. From this location they presented themselves as victims of the "Eugene radical feminists," a narrative that justified their abusive behavior and identified local feminists as the antagonists. They reportedly also referred to particular individuals as "feminazis."¹⁰⁵ The use of this gendered and racialized term demonstrates how men in the patriarchy pod framed themselves as victims, drawing on cultural narratives around "authoritarian feminists." These action frames allowed them to maintain Fall Creek as a space controlled by white men, hostile to white and BIPOC feminists. The deployment of a term like *feminazi* suggests that the collective action frames deployed by the men of the patriarchy pod helped reinforce racial and gender-based hierarchies within CFD up to 2003.¹⁰⁶

There is limited documentary evidence of the experiences of people of color at Fall

Creek. Warcry, also known as Priya Reddy, an Indian American woman who enjoyed the "fuck-y'all, flag-burning attitude" at the tree-sits, is one of the few high-profile women of color associated with Fall Creek, but to suggest that her experience was representative of that of all women of color who spent time there would be flagrant tokenism.¹⁰⁷ Within CFD more broadly it has been difficult to find evidence of how activists of color navigated the group's racism or specific efforts the group made to be less white-dominated. Scholar Rachel Luft argues that instances of sexual assault and abuse of white activist women by white activist men "are deeply racialized."¹⁰⁸ This was evident at Fall Creek; the men of the patriarchy pod who were abusive to several women used collective action frames that drew on white supremacist and patriarchal tropes. The term *feminazi*—popularized by Rush Limbaugh—was levied primarily against white women at Fall Creek, but framing these white feminists as feminazis is also a white supremacist narrative.¹⁰⁹ Equating feminists with the Nazi Party allowed the white men at the patriarchy pod to position themselves as protectors of free speech. In doing so, they reinforced their rights of access—to the physical space of Fall Creek and to women's bodies. I suggest that use of that term is an example of a white supremacist collective action frame.

In CFD's tree-sits the whiteness of most of the perpetrators and survivors impacted the sexual violence occurring there and the narratives of these incidents. Within white-dominated spaces, rape is used to maintain race- and gender-based hierarchies; however, within CFD's movement narratives it has largely been framed in relation to gender-based oppression and sexual violence experienced by white women. In critiquing these white feminist frames it is necessary to look at how contemporary and historical narratives around sexual violence are racialized in the United States. The myth of the Black male rapist—cast as a threat to white womanhood—was first deployed in the late nineteenth century to justify campaigns of terror

against African American men and women.¹¹⁰ Estelle B. Freedman's research into media coverage of sexual violence in the United States between 1870 and 1900 tracks the establishment of racialized "rape narratives," leading to the association of rape with Black men. News reports of rape portrayed African American men as intrinsically predatory, while categorizing white male perpetrators as "exceptional rapists," positioning white men as protectors of white women rather than potential perpetrators of violence.¹¹¹ These racialized depictions of rape are central to present-day understandings of safety and sexual violence, falsely suggesting that women are safer in the private space of the home than in "crime-ridden streets."¹¹² Such narratives impact all acts of interpersonal violence, even those that occur between two white people.¹¹³ Within the context of tree-sits like Fall Creek, resistance to identifying white male activists as perpetrators of abuse reinforces the idea that there is something out of the ordinary about white male rapists; that those were not the kinds of white men with whom one would be friends or occupy tree-sits.¹¹⁴ Similarly, Fall Creek's role in the movement narratives of sexual violence within forest activism relies on an understanding of it as an aberration, where misogyny went unchecked to the point of harassment and abuse, in contrast to the other forest activist campaign spaces in the Pacific Northwest. This notion casts white-dominated tree-sits as safe except in the extraordinary case of Fall Creek. In these framings, whiteness is normalized and not identified as a source of violence and exclusion.

The silence around issues of racism and settler colonialism within movement narratives of Fall Creek—and CFD more broadly—is reflective of how whiteness is rendered invisible. In my interviews with white mid-guard activists there was discussion of sexual violence and misogyny at Fall Creek without reference to race or racism.¹¹⁵ I located three articles and one statement discussing incidents of abuse and sexual violence at Fall Creek; "Addressing Sexist

Oppression at Fall Creek" mentions that "sexist, racist, homophobic, classist, speciesist, ageist, ableist behaviors" were displayed by abusive men at the sits.¹¹⁶ ^{BBB}The article's anonymous authors were critical of discussions around power imbalances focusing on gender-based hierarchies within the group, suggesting that "all oppression within our action groups must be confronted, not just sexism."¹¹⁷ There is an acknowledgment of the prevalence of "white skin privilege at Fall Creek and in many eco-defense circles," but the authors do not move beyond this to examine why CFD is a white-dominated group.¹¹⁸ Another notable omission from articles calling out violence at Fall Creek is a critique of the moniker Red Cloud Thunder, chosen by the activists who occupied the tree-sits at Fall Creek. A statement on CFD's website by Otter, a male tree-sitter, suggests that the moniker was appropriate because it was being used by "a bunch of (for the most part) white kids who are fed up with the irresponsible, short-sighted, destructive greed of our culture, and who wish to form our own tribe."¹¹⁹ Otter's account occludes the ongoing effects of colonization in which he and other white CFD activists are complicit. Both his account and white feminist counternarratives failed to acknowledge the ongoing effect of racist and colonialist violence, land theft, and genocide in the Pacific Northwest.¹²⁰ An article by Mossy and Derrick, "Don't Let Oppression Silence You," is critical of the patriarchy pod set up to control access to Fall Creek but only in regard to the men's misogynist behavior. The forest is represented in opposition to "domination, hierarchy, intolerance, or uncontrolled anger and aggression," a dyad that overlooks how the Willamette National Forest exists within a settler colonialist dynamic.¹²¹

The counternarratives developed by feminists within CFD overlooked the role of race in the sexual violence that occurred. Rachel Luft suggests that "from a dominant racial perspective

^{BBB} OK to assume the article title should match how it appears in the endnote? {Copyeditor: yes, that was a typo. Apologies.}

that views whites as racially neutral and unmarked, white-on-white sexual violence appears to have little to do with race."¹²² Circle, a white cisgender CFD activist who spent time at Fall Creek, spoke about the culture of entitlement she witnessed in white men toward the bodies of white women: that there existed an undercurrent of "You are here because you are keeping the male [tree-]sitters happy, by whatever means necessary."¹²³ Crow—talking about interpersonal violence within Eugene's eco-anarchist movement as a whole—put it more bluntly: "Basically when I first came around men could beat and rape women with impunity . . . in that time and place and in that scene."¹²⁴ The accounts of Circle and Crow are examples of the status quo narratives that motivated the development of white feminist counternarratives.

A scarcity of archival material, as well as difficulties in tracking down CFD activists from that period, made it challenging to identify efforts to confront abuse prior to 2000. The aforementioned articles and statement about abuse and sexual violence at Fall Creek outline efforts, in 2000 and 2001, to confront harassment and abusive behavior at the tree-sits, lending insight into decisions to evict men for exploitative or boundary crossing behavior, and into the challenges of enforcing these evictions. These narratives also illustrate how access to money, public support, or technical skills could be leveraged to allow predatory or abusive men to remain at, or return to, tree-sits. It appeared that people were reluctant to exclude threatening or violent men because of their "vital skills and resources."¹²⁵ The three articles, one published in the *Earth First Journal!*, the other two in the *Insurgent*, an alternative newspaper put out by students at the University of Oregon, posited alternative narratives for how CFD should respond to harassing and abusive behavior. These counternarratives depended on white feminist frames focused on empowering women to be more active in the tree-sitting side of the campaigns. Doing so meant that these skills were not solely in the hands of abusive white men or their supporters.

The most concerted effort to utilize these feminist frames was a month-long women-only tree-sit at Fall Creek in February 2001. The women-only action, which was not open to trans women, provided a space for cisgender women to learn how to climb and do daily maintenance work in the tree-sits.¹²⁶

"Eventually What Happened Was the Great Schism"

After 2000 the feminist frames utilized by some activists in CFD began to help individual women who had been assaulted in the tree-sits.¹²⁷ The support they received from fellow forest activists created space for their participant narratives to become part of CFD's movement narrative. Some months after her assault by well-known activist Jim-Dawg, Squirrel, a white cisgender CFD activist, requested a meeting to reach consensus on excluding Jim-Dawg from CFD tree-sits; an event that played an important role in CFD's movement narrative, with multiple narrators viewing it as a turning point in how CFD responded to sexual violence.¹²⁸ CFD ultimately excluded Jim-Dawg from the organization and the campaign spaces it had control over in town and the woods.¹²⁹ In the wake of the meeting, feminists in CFD made further changes to create a less hospitable environment for perpetrators. Members were expected to uphold the organization's anti-oppression and safer spaces policies.¹³⁰ Tom, a white, cisgender CFD activist, stated that after the meeting to exclude Jim-Dawg in the spring of 2003, new CFD activists were expected to make certain commitments to the group:

You didn't just show up and we put you in a tree, that wasn't what was happened. You gotta read and agree to these terms. People agreed to the terms. That way, when accountability came up, we would just point to the document saying, "This is our brochure saying the things you agreed to. Consent, safety, people's safety. You have violated these safety issues which you had agreed you would not: we're kicking you out." Straight up. There was no grey area where "rape's OK, as long as you're saving the forest," you know?¹³¹

CFD started to transform its movement narrative of responses to sexual violence and how

to prioritize the safety and inclusion of women tree-sitters. The counternarrative that CFD began to establish—a narrative that challenged rather than centered white masculinity—did not sit well with activists at Fall Creek. There was resistance to CFD's decision to exclude abusers like Jim-Dawg and reluctance to adhere to CFD's anti-oppression and safer spaces policies. CFD's adoption of a white feminist movement narrative, and efforts to enact anti-violence policies at Fall Creek, are examples of what Robert D. Benford identifies as the use of movement narratives to "control the course of social movements from within."¹³² In fall 2003 conflict between the two groups remained unresolved, and CFD publicly distanced themselves from Fall Creek, stating that it was not a safe space for women.¹³³ This was the first time CFD made a public statement about the abuse at Fall Creek. Tom referred to that event as "the great schism." CFD's status quo narrative became underpinned by white feminist values that privileged sexism (as experienced by white, able-bodied women) above other forms of oppression. A counternarrative was promulgated by activists associated with Fall Creek who disagreed with CFD's commitment to anti-violence activism and anti-oppression policies.¹³⁴

The verbal abuse and harassment continually directed at CFD activists mirrored the aggression toward feminists in the wider eco-anarchist community. According to Crow, a white feminist activist, "they would do things that were really actively terrorizing, you know, they put a brick through my friend's window. They would stop my friends on the street and scream at them and call them whores."¹³⁵ Amidst this harassment, CFD maintained two tree-sits in the Straw Devil timber sale, an all genders tree-sit and a women-only tree-sit. The women-only sit followed from the women's month at Fall Creek and is an example of how CFD's white feminist frames were used to mobilize support for women-led actions—actions primarily geared toward empowering white, physically able-bodied, cisgender women. With the women-only sit, the

counternarratives that feminists in CFD attempted to manifest in 2001 at Fall Creek were fully realized in 2003. Straw Devil would come to play a central role in CFD's movement narratives around oppression and safer spaces.

"Moving Beyond a History of Corsets and Clearcuts"

In spring 2003 a central aspect of CFD's movement narrative was the importance of women's involvement in all aspects of forest activist campaigns—campaigns that continued to be white-dominated and inaccessible to physically disabled people.¹³⁶ Women-only tree-sits and camps played a central role in the development of a movement narrative that focused on CFD's transformation into a safer space for cisgender, physically able-bodied white women. Further evidence of this shift was the launch of the women-only tree-sit at Straw Devil in July 2003, one of the first sits to be entirely constructed and maintained by cisgender women.¹³⁷ Owl, a white, cisgender, mid-guard woman, outlined the importance of developing these skills:

We could be the people who stayed in the [tree-]sits, but we never had the authority to um, to set them up. And we didn't have the skills to do them all on our own. We always had to go to men to help us with that.¹³⁸

Owl's narrative demonstrates how feminist frames that focused on the importance of women learning the skills necessary to build and maintain the tree-sits were central to a movement narrative of women's safety and empowerment. Allowing women forest activists to learn these skills also meant that CFD campaigns were not reliant on the expertise of white men who displayed patterns of misogynist or abusive behavior.¹³⁹ This can be viewed as a disruption of the narrative that was common at Fall Creek—and CFD up to 2003—where an individual's access to resources, and technical climbing skills, were often viewed as more important than whether that person had been abusive. However, there is no evidence that women-only actions or

tree-sits challenged issues of ableism, racism, and transmisogyny in the group. According to Owl, Straw Devil "was just as white as any other camp."¹⁴⁰ CFD hosted another women's action camp at Straw Devil in 2004, and the women's sit made efforts to be more inclusive of trans women; a change from 2003 when the tree-sits were only open to cisgender women and AFAB trans and non-binary people.¹⁴¹ The 2004 action camp was open to all "people who identify as Womyn or Trans"; however, promotional materials do not provide further details about steps that CFD or the camp itself took to be safer spaces for trans women or whether trans women were involved in the organizing of the event.¹⁴² In the fall of 2004 the tree-sits were taken down at Straw Devil after the timber sale was canceled.¹⁴³

CFD organized a handful of action camps in 2005 and 2006 before going on hiatus.¹⁴⁴ In 2009 CFD was reestablished by a younger group of environmental activists.¹⁴⁵ The work of CFD activists in the early 2000s—to develop movement narratives and collective action frames that allowed them to disrupt patterns of white male entitlement—continues to resonate within the group.¹⁴⁶ However, the use of white feminist frames to counter dominant narratives meant that CFD continued to be white and cisgender-dominated. Cristina, a white cisgender woman involved in CFD, acknowledged that the group still struggles with issues such as misogyny, transphobia, and racism:

A good friend of mine who was a person of color ended up leaving CFD because they felt uncomfortable being around white people all the time. Which is super-legit. And there are still all these stories of people not having their gender identities respected, or they experience sexual violence, or one thing or another. It was sort of sad to start realizing that—actually no, it's like not something that's isolated to the past. It's ongoing.¹⁴⁷

Cristina suggested that it was primarily old- and mid-guard CFD men who resisted efforts to challenge oppression and incorporate "social justice issues" into the group's organizing. She expressed frustration that women and non-binary people were leaving the group because of the

oppression they faced.¹⁴⁸ This mirrors the experiences of white women, women of color, and AFAB trans and non-binary people during the mid-guard era, some of whom left forest defense because of the traumas they experienced.¹⁴⁹

Conclusion

Movement narratives and collective action frames within CFD and the wider radical environmental movement are continually in flux. I have traced how a group of feminists in CFD used collective action frames to challenge CFD's status quo narrative around white masculinity and sexual violence from 2000 to 2005. I have used the term *white feminist frame* to highlight how their anti-oppression work centered around making the group more inclusive of white, able-bodied, cisgender women and AFAB non-binary people. These frames were used to legitimize grievances around interpersonal violence and misogyny, grievances they sought to remedy through anti-oppression policies and women-only action camps and tree-sits. By deploying these frames, they were able to develop counternarratives that offered alternative ways of responding to sexual violence and harassment but failed to resolve other issues of oppression within the group. I have outlined how this was achieved, and how the framing of particular perpetrators, or sites of violence like Fall Creek, have reinforced racialized narratives about sexual violence committed by white men against white women. When CFD distanced itself from Fall Creek in 2003, a schism emerged within the organization, and the group's dominant narrative began to include the tensions and conflicts that accompanied efforts to exclude perpetrators (and their supporters) as well as including more positive accounts of women-only tree-sits and action camps. A group of mostly white female survivors of violence played a central role in the transformation of CFD's movement narrative. The changes that took place between 2003 and 2005 in particular illustrated the importance of giving that group of survivors the opportunity to

resist the status quo narratives allowing abuse to perpetuate within the organization until 2003.

For the younger CFD activists I interviewed in 2014 and 2015 there was a commitment to movement narratives and collective action frames that centered feminist values. However, tensions between competing narratives around how to respond to sexual violence erupted once again at the twentieth anniversary of the Warner Creek campaign. Rod Coronado—a well-known and well-respected Native American old-guard Earth First! activist who was called out for abuse and sexual violence within Earth First! circles months earlier—attended, not respecting a request by some of the younger members of CFD that he not attend.¹⁵⁰ Cristina framed his presence as evidence that some of the older organizers did not care about CFD's new-guard, who in many ways were responsible for pushing the organization forward. This demonstrated that CFD's movement narratives—particularly around past and present responses to violence and harassment—continued to be unstable and contested. The lack of acknowledgment of the racial dynamics of the situation with Coronado indicate that there is still an ongoing need for intersectional analyses around sexual violence, in order to foreground how sexual violence is a tool of white supremacy, settler colonialism, and heteropatriarchy.

The disputed nature of CFD's movement narratives is underpinned by racialized and gendered understandings of sexual violence. There is a need for further scholarly analysis on the impact of sexual violence in social movements, including how narratives and collective action frames are used as mechanisms of "*intramovement* social control," to defend or intervene in the use of rape, abuse, and harassment to maintain gendered and racialized hierarchies.¹⁵¹ Gaps in knowledge around these dynamics are part of what Bice Maiguashca, Lara Montesinos Coleman, and Serena A. Bassi identify as a wider lack of analysis on the impact of gender within contemporary anarchist and environmental social movements.¹⁵² The example of CFD also

demonstrates the ways in which state repression has impacted racialized and gendered hierarchies within social movements. Michael Loadenthal's recent work outlines links between undercover police officers, activist-turned-informants, and instances of sexual assault and abuse, in particular on how state surveillance extends into the bedroom. He argues that undercover agents have been able to infiltrate movements more efficiently through sexual and romantic connections with activists and outlines the damaging effect of this.¹⁵³ What is perhaps most important is work that encourages stronger institutional memories around sexual violence, to prevent the silencing of survivors in social movements.

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Notes

1. There are numerous sources outlining these efforts in the overlapping New Left, Feminist, Civil Rights, and Black Power movements of the 1960s and 1970s; see Rebecca E. Klatch, "The Formation of Feminist Consciousness among Left- and Right-Wing Activists of the 1960s," *Gender and Society* 15, no. 6 (2001); Sara M. Evans, *Personal Politics: The Roots of Women's Liberation in the Civil Rights Movement and the New Left* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1979); Doug McAdam, "Gender as a Mediator of the Activist Experience: The Case of Freedom Summer," *American Journal of Sociology* 97, no. 5 (1992); Belinda Robnett, "African-American Women in the Civil Rights Movement, 1954–1965: Gender, Leadership, and Micromobilization," *American Journal of Sociology* 101, no. 6 (1996); Robyn C. Spencer, *The Revolution Has Come: Black Power, Gender, and the Black Panther Party in Oakland* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2016).
2. The founders of Earth First! spelled the name with an exclamation point at the end.
3. Ronald Spores, "Too Small a Place: The Removal of the Willamette Valley Indians, 1850–1856," *American Indian Quarterly* 17, no. 2 (1993); "Clark Timber Sale," Cascadia Forest Defenders website, last modified January 2002, http://web.archive.org/web/20030213031543/http://www.efn.org/~cforestd/Clark_Timber_Sale/.
4. The U.S. Forest Service (part of the Department of Agriculture) is responsible for overseeing timber harvest operations in the nation's 154 national forests. They do this through timber sales that allow private logging companies to log a parcel of land under clearly laid out guidelines. This has often drawn the ire of environmentalists, particularly when timber sales involve areas of old-growth forests (forests that have never been logged). For a fuller overview of environmental campaigns against the Forest Service see Rik Scarce, *Eco-Warriors: Understanding the Radical Environmental Movement* (Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, 2006).
5. Humus, Facebook direct message, September 14, 2017.
6. John, oral history interview by author, January 24, 2015, transcript, 6.
7. Denali, oral history interview by author, November 10, 2013, transcript, 2.
8. Humus, oral history interview by author, July 17, 2014, transcript, 5.
9. Bridget, oral history interview by author, August 19, 2015, transcript, 3.
10. Humus, interview, 7.
11. Denali, interview, 2–3.
12. Tree-sitters used buckets and plastic jugs for solid and liquid waste, respectively. Waste was emptied from receptacles and buried in the forest.
13. Wind, oral history interview by author, November 5, 2013, transcript, 11; Circle, oral history interview by author, December 22, 2014, transcript, 10.
14. Wind, oral history interview by author, July 21, 2015, transcript, 5.
15. For further background on the Warner Creek campaign see Kera Abraham, "Flames of Dissent Pt. I: In Defense of Cascadia," *Eugene Weekly*, November 2, 2006, <http://www.eugeneweekly.com/2006/11/02/coverstory.html>.
16. Denali, interview, 5.
17. Mossy and Derrick, "Don't Let Oppression Silence You," *Insurgent*, December, 2001, <http://web.archive.org/web/20020205023345/http://theinsurgent.org/index.php?volnum=13.3&article=fallcreek;>

- Leanne Siart, Cascadia Summer organizers listserv, June 9, 2003.^{CCC}
18. Anna, oral history interview by author, October 19, 2013, transcript, 1–2; Boudicca, oral history interview by author, June 10, 2014, transcript, 29–30; Rocky, oral history interview by author, July 19, 2014, transcript, 5.
 19. Robert D. Benford, "Controlling Narratives and Narratives as Control within Social Movements," in *Stories of Change: Narratives and Social Movements*, ed. Joseph E. Davis (Albany: State University of New York Press: Albany, 2002), 54–55.
 20. Benford, "Controlling Narratives," 55.
 21. Wind, interview, 38.
 22. For an analysis of dominant forms of masculinity in the anti-globalization movement see Sian Sullivan. "'Viva Nihilism!' On Militancy and Machismo in (Anti-) Globalisation Protest," CSGR working paper no. 158/05 (Warwick, UK: Centre for the Study of Globalisation and Regionalisation, 2005); Lara Montesinos Coleman and Serena A. Bassi, "Deconstructing Militant Manhood," *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 13, no. 2 (2011).
 23. Joseph E. Davis, "Narrative and Social Movements: The Power of Stories," in *Stories of Change: Narratives and Social Movements*, ed. Joseph E. Davis (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2002), 7.
 24. Davis, "Narrative and Social Movements," 7.
 25. Kimberlé Crenshaw, "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color," *Stanford Law Review* 43, no. 6 (1991); Andrea Smith, "Without Bureaucracy, Beyond Inclusion: Re-Centering Feminism," *Left Turn* (2006), <http://www.leftturn.org/without-bureaucracy-beyond-inclusion-re-centering-feminism>; Julie Zeilinger, "The Brutal Truth Every White Feminist Needs to Hear," *Mic*, September 11, 2015, <https://mic.com/articles/125084/the-brutal-truth-every-white-feminist-needs-to-hear#.J5DplaPIL>; Mariana Ortega, "Being Lovingly, Knowingly Ignorant: White Feminism and Women of Color," *Hypatia* 21, no. 3 (2006).
 26. Benford, "Controlling Narratives," 55.
 27. *Pickaxe*, directed by Tim Ream and Tim Lewis (CrimethInc, 2008). I use the term *cisgender-passing* to indicate that transgender, two-spirit, or non-binary individuals may have chosen to pass as cisgender and conceal their gender identity from fellow activists.
 28. According to Meyler only 6 activists—of the 200 individuals encountered—were people of color. Meyler's survey on class and education backgrounds of Earth First!ers in the Pacific Northwest attempted to unpack class dynamics in tree-sit campaigns. The small sample size—only 39 people were willing to participate—means it is not possible to make generalizations about CFD or other tree-sitting organizations from her results. What is clear is that her survey sample was dominated by people with college educations from middle-class backgrounds. Of 39 respondents, 24 grew up middle class. Interestingly, in the same survey only 35% of individuals—13 of 37—identified as currently middle class; 37% held a bachelors degree, 13% held a masters, and 24% had some college experience. Her results indicate that the majority of activists who were comfortable

^{CCC} Can initials or first names be given for Mossy and Derrick? {Copyeditor: No, the article just lists those names.}

- speaking about their experiences were from middle-class, college-educated backgrounds. Deanna Meyler, "Understanding Diversity in the Radical Environmental Movement," PhD diss., University of Nebraska, 2003), 42.
29. Wind, interview, 7.
 30. Natty, "Faeries in the Forest: Queering Environmental Activism," *Polywog* (blog), January 4, 2008, <https://polywog.wordpress.com/papers/>; Natty, "Apex: Gender and Cascadia Forest Defense, 1985–2006," *Polywog* (blog), December 24, 2008, <http://polywog.wordpress.com/2008/12/24/apex/>; Widdow, "A Story of the Trans and/or Women's Action Camp and How It All Began," *Earth First! Journal*, June 21, 2015.
 31. Jack, oral history interview by author, July 3, 2014, transcript, 21–22.
 32. Jack, interview, 28.
 33. Cristina, oral history interview by author, August 20, 2015, transcript, 8–9.
 34. Cristina, interview, 8.
 35. Chris Dixon, *Another Politics: Talking across Today's Transformative Movements* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2014), 2.
 36. Leah Lakshmi Piepzna-Samarasinha, "When Calling Me You Beautiful Sister Is Not Enough," *Colours of Resistance archive* (blog), accessed August 10, 2017; Dixon, *Another Politics*, 44–47, 71–75; Nell, "EF!'s Cow Is Born," *Earth First! Journal*, October 31, 2006; Trouble!, "Trannies Are Taking Over!" *Earth First! Journal*, December 21, 2007; Alison Kafer, "Hiking Boots and Wheelchairs: Ecofeminism, the Body, and Physical Disability," in *Feminist Interventions in Ethics and Politics: Feminist Ethics and Social Theory*, ed. Barbara S. Andrew, Jean Clare Keller, and Lisa H. Schwartzman (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2005).
 37. Chaone Mallory, "Ecofeminism and Forest Defense in Cascadia: Gender, Theory and Radical Activism," *Capitalism Nature Socialism* 17, no. 1 (2006): 32–49.
 38. Bice Maiguashca, "'They're Talkin' Bout a Revolution': Feminism, Anarchism and the Politics of Social Change in the Global Justice Movement," *Feminist Review*, no. 106 (2014): 106.
 39. Coleman and Bassi, "Deconstructing Militant Manhood," 205.
 40. Coleman and Bassi, "Deconstructing Militant Manhood," 205; Sara Koopman, "A Liberatory Space? Rumors of Rapes at the 5th World Social Forum, Porto Alegre, 2005," *Journal of International Women's Studies* 8, no. 3 (2007); Sullivan, "Viva Nihilism."^{DDD}
 41. Kera Abraham, "Flames of Dissent Pt. II: Eco-Anarchy Rising," *Eugene Weekly*, November 9, 2006, <http://www.eugeneweekly.com/2006/11/09/news1>; Kera Abraham, "Flames of Dissent Pt. III: Eco-Anarchy Imploding," *Eugene Weekly*, November 22, 2006, <http://www.eugeneweekly.com/2006/11/22/coverstory>; Circle, interview, 6.
 42. The majority of my narrators were involved in one or more of CFD's tree-sit campaigns; other interviewees

^{DDD} Is *Deconstructing* OK in the Coleman and Bassi title? Is this a second article on the same page as the one in note 39? If so, perhaps best to give the full reference again, to make clear that this is not supposed to be a short title for the note 39 piece. Note that this second title recurs in notes 97 and 152.

{Copyeditor: There were two articles by Coleman and Bassi in the same journal, and I cited the wrong one. I've corrected it now. Thanks for catching that!}

were selected because of involvement in "internal campaigns" to challenge abuse and misogyny within the group.

43. Denali, interview, 14–15.
44. Similar arguments were deployed in 1991 against anti-violence activists at Brown University when it emerged that a bathroom stall in a woman's restroom was being used to name men who had reportedly raped fellow students. See Julia C. Liu and Alison Klayman, "Brown's 'Rape List,' Revisited," *New York Times*, September 24, 2014, <http://www.nytimes.com/2014/09/25/opinion/browns-rape-list-revisited.html>; Sheela Raman, "Rape List, Serving the Brown Community since 1991," *Brown Daily Herald* (2004), <http://www.browndailyherald.com/2004/09/22/rape-list-serving-the-brown-community-since-1991/>.
45. Rocky, interview, 11–12.
46. Rocky, interview, 12.
47. Leith Kahl, "The Tyranny of Structurelessness and Earth First," *Earth First! Journal*, May 1, 2001, 34.
48. Scarce, *Eco-Warriors*, 4–5.
49. Humus, interview; John, interview; Rusty, oral history interview by author, June 16, 2014, transcript. For an overview of the tactics used by CFD and Earth First! groups in the Pacific Northwest, see The DAM Collective, *Earth First! Direct Action Manual* (Eugene, OR: Southern Willamette Earth First!, 1997).
50. Abraham, "Flames of Dissent Pt. I."
51. Scarce, *Eco-Warriors*, 88–89.
52. CBSNEWS.COM Staff, "The New Anarchists," *60 Minutes* (1999), <http://www.cbsnews.com/news/the-new-anarchists/>; David Samuels, "Notes from Underground," May 2000; *Breaking the Spell*, directed by Tim Ream et al. (CrimethInc, 2008).
53. Rocky, interview, 7.
54. Sleeve, "Hey Insurgent" (author's possession, Eugene, OR, c. 2001).
55. Sleeve, "Hey Insurgent."
56. Wind, interview, 38; Boudicca, interview, 23.
57. Kiera James Anderson, "Monkeywrenching the Misogynists in Our Movements: A Historical Exploration of Call-Outs and Anti-Feminist Backlash in Cascadia," *Earth First! Journal*, December 21, 2015, 57–63.
58. Rocky, interview, 6.
59. Rocky, interview, 4–5.
60. Benford, "Controlling Narratives," 53.
61. Boudicca, interview, 22–23.
62. Boudicca, interview, 29; Denali, interview, 10–11; Algae, oral history interview by author, July 5, 2014, transcript, 4; Boudicca, personal communication with author, 2015; Squirrel, WhatsApp message, February 25, 2017.
63. U.S. Federal Bureau of Investigation, *Seizing Thunder* (Portland, OR: FBI, 2002); John Cook, "How the FBI Monitored Crusty Punks, 'Anarchist Hangouts,' and an Organic Farmers' Market under the Guise of Combating Terrorism," *Gawker* (2012), <http://gawker.com/5892639/how-the-fbi-monitored-crusty-punks-anarchist->

hangouts-and-an-organic-farmers-market-under-the-guise-of-combating-terrorism.

64. Firecrotch, "Federal Harassment in Cascadia," *Earth First! Journal*, April 30, 1997, 13; Lisa Igoe, "Coercive Injustice: Local Moms Subpoenaed by Federal Grand Jury," *Eugene Weekly*, May 13, 2004.
65. Jules Boykoff, "Limiting Dissent: The Mechanisms of State Repression in the USA," *Social Movement Studies* 6, no. 3 (2007): 281.
66. Eleanor Stein, "Construction of an Enemy," *Monthly Review* 55, no. 3 (2003); Deborah Wilkins Newman and Nikki-Qui D. Brown, "Historical Overview and Perceptions of Racial and Terrorist Profiling in an Era of Homeland Security," *Criminal Justice Policy Review* 20, no. 3 (2009); S. Hirsch-Hoefler and C. Mudde, "'Ecoterrorism': Terrorist Threat or Political Ploy?," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 37, no. 7 (2014).
67. Andrea Smith, "Not-Seeing: State Surveillance, Settler Colonialism, and Gender Violence," in *Feminist Surveillance Studies*, ed. Rachel E. Dubrofsky and Shoshana Magnet (Durham: Duke University Press, 2015), 21–22.
68. *Cascadia Summer Orientation Guide* (Portland, OR: N.p., 2003), in author's possession.
69. Smith, "Not-Seeing," 26.
70. Spores, "Too Small a Place," 181. Spores outlines how colonization of the region was facilitated by diseases introduced by white traders and settlers; an "epidemic of 'fever and ague' (probably malaria)" reduced the Native population of the Willamette Valley region from 15,000 to around 2,000 in the early 1830s. In the 1850s the remaining Molalla, Clackamas, and Kalapuya peoples were forced to give up all lands and move to reservations established by the federal government.
71. *Cascadia Summer Orientation Guide*.
72. Vikas K. Gumbhir, *But Is It Racial Profiling? Policing, Pretext Stops, and the Color of Suspicion* (New York: LFB Scholarly Publishing, 2007); Mike Males, "Who Are Police Killing?," *Center on Juvenile and Criminal Justice* (blog), August 26, 2014, <http://www.cjcj.org/news/8113>.
73. Smith, "Not-Seeing"; Simone Browne, *Dark Matters: On the Surveillance of Blackness* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2015).
74. Nancy A. Matthews, *Confronting Rape: The Feminist Anti-Rape Movement and the State*, International Library of Sociology (London: Routledge, 1994); Kristin Bumiller, *In an Abusive State: How Neoliberalism Appropriated the Feminist Movement against Sexual Violence* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008); INCITE! Women of Color Against Violence and Critical Resistance, "The Critical Resistance Incite! Statement on Gender Violence and the Prison Industrial Complex," in *Abolition Now: Ten Years of Strategy and Struggle against the Prison Industrial Complex*, ed. CRI0 Publications Collective (Oakland, CA: AK Press, 2008).
75. Emily Thuma, "Lessons in Self-Defense: Gender Violence, Racial Criminalization, and Anticarceral Feminism," *Women's Studies Quarterly* 43, no. 3–4 (2015): 53.
76. Thuma, "Lessons in Self-Defense," 53.
77. Smith, "Without Bureaucracy."
78. Crenshaw, "Mapping the Margins," 1243.
79. Smith, "Without Bureaucracy."

80. Smith, "Without Bureaucracy."
81. Patrisia Macias Rojas, "Rebuilding the Anti-Violence Movement," *Colorlines*, September 30, 2000; Angela Davis, "The Color of Violence against Women," *Colorlines*, September 30, 2000.
82. CRI0 Publications Collective, "Introduction," in *Abolition Now: Ten Years of Strategy and Struggle against the Prison Industrial Complex*, ed. CRI0 Publications Collective (Oakland, CA: AK Press, 2008), xi.
83. Critical Resistance's website defines the "prison industrial complex" as follows: "The prison industrial complex (PIC) is a term we use to describe the overlapping interests of government and industry that use surveillance, policing, and imprisonment as solutions to economic, social and political problems." "What Is the PIC? What Is Abolition?," *Critical Resistance*, last modified July 30, 2012, <http://criticalresistance.org/about/not-so-common-language/>.
84. INCITE! Women of Color Against Violence and Critical Resistance, "The Critical Resistance Incite! Statement," 16.
85. INCITE! Women of Color Against Violence and Critical Resistance, "The Critical Resistance Incite! Statement," 15.
86. Matthews, *Confronting Rape*; Bumiller, *In an Abusive State*.
87. Robert Bullard, who coined the term *environmental justice*, was interviewed in the *Earth First! Journal* in 1999, wherein he indicates that it is largely women of color leading environmental justice organizing.
88. Squirrel, WhatsApp message.
89. Andrea Smith, "Beyond the Politics of Inclusion: Violence against Women of Color and Human Rights," *Meridians* 4, no. 2 (2004): 121.
90. One focus of environmental justice work in Oregon in the early 2000s was the movement to reduce pesticide use; this was connected to labor rights for farmworkers. Anonymous, "March for Justice," *Eugene Weekly*, June 19, 2003.
91. "Anarchists Are Going to Eat Your Children and Other Myths, Misinformation and Misunderstanding," John Zerzan Papers, Coll 273, Special Collections and University Archives, University of Oregon Libraries, Eugene, OR, 2000, 10.
92. "Anarchists Are Going to Eat Your Children," 10–12.
93. Sociologist Vikas K. Gumbhir analyzed the Eugene Police Department's data on motorist stops in 2002 and 2003, concluding that Black and Latino motorists were disproportionately targeted by police in traffic stops. Gumbhir also references the case of John Gainer—an African American professor at the University of Oregon—who was stopped and questioned by the Eugene Police Department in April 1997 and December 1998. In the latter case a security guard at a Eugene shopping mall called 911 thinking Gainer matched the description of an African American robbery suspect—despite differences in height, weight, and skin tone. Notably, the information given to the police was a description of the robbery suspect—taken from a recent newspaper article—rather than a description of Gainer himself. Gumbhir, *But Is It Racial Profiling?*, 1–3, 74–75, 220–21.
94. An article about police misconduct on the Portland Copwatch website in Eugene shares an account of John

- Gainer's experiences of racial profiling, giving multiple examples of the "anarchist community" being harassed by the police. "Eugene Cops: More out of Control Than Portland?," *Portland Copwatch*, last modified April 1999, <http://www.portlandcopwatch.org/PPR17/Eugene17.html>.
95. Cheri Brooks, "Unveiling Bias," *Eugene Weekly*, October 25, 2001; Puck, "Facing Off the Radical Environmental Lynch Mob," *Earth First! Journal*, October 31, 2004, 30.
 96. Rocky, interview, 10.
 97. Coleman and Bassi, "Deconstructing Militant Manhood," 216.
 98. The quote is from Circle, interview, 5.
 99. Lucas Spiegel, "Redefining Rape," *Deal With It*, no. 1 (2001), <http://fruitiondesign.com/dealwithit/article1.php3>; "Against Patriarchy," *Eugene Weekly*, January 24, 2002; Rocky, interview; Crow, oral history interview by author, July 18, 2014, transcript.
 100. "2002 Schedule of Events," *Against Patriarchy Conference*, 2002, <https://web.archive.org/web/20060808084035/http://againstpatriarchy.org:80/2002schedule.php> ^{EEE}
 101. Dustin, "One Male's Perspective on Patriarchy and Forest Defense," *Against Patriarchy*, 2003, http://web.archive.org/web/20080602083254/http://againstpatriarchy.org:80/writing_2.php3.
 102. Denali, interview, 12.
 103. Tom, oral history interview by author, July 2, 2014, transcript, 7.
 104. Wind, interview.
 105. Mossy and Derrick, "Don't Let Oppression Silence You."
 106. Mossy and Derrick, "Don't Let Oppression Silence You."
 107. Abraham, "Flames of Dissent Pt. III"; Esther Kaplan, "Keepers of the Flame," *Village Voice*, January 29, 2002, <https://www.villagevoice.com/2002/01/29/keepers-of-the-flame/>.
 108. Rachel E. Luft, "Looking for Common Ground: Relief Work in Post-Katrina New Orleans as an American Parable of Race and Gender Violence," *NWSA Journal* 20, no. 3 (2008).
 109. Rush H. Limbaugh, *The Way Things Ought to Be* (New York: Pocket Books, 1992).
 110. Mary Church Terrell, "Lynching from a Negro's Point of View," in *Black Women in White America: A Documentary History*, ed. Gerda Lerner (New York: Pantheon Books, 1972); Ida B. Wells-Barnett, *Southern Horrors and Other Writings* (Boston: Bedford Books, 1997), 49–72; Danielle L. McGuire, *At the Dark End of the Street* (New York: Vintage, 2010), 3–47.
 111. Estelle B. Freedman, "'Crimes Which Startle and Horrify': Gender, Age, and the Racialization of Sexual Violence in White American Newspapers, 1870–1900," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 20, no. 3 (2011): 478.
 112. Luft, "Looking for Common Ground," 5–31; Kristine De Welde, "White Women Beware!: Whiteness, Fear of Crime, and Self-Defense," *Race, Gender and Class* 10, no. 4 (2003): 78.
 113. Janelle White, "Because Violence Is a Weapon of Oppression, Antirape Must Mean Antioppression," in *Just Sex: Students Rewrite the Rules on Sex, Violence, Activism, and Equality*, ed. Jodi Gold and Susan Villari

^{EEE} We seem to need a URL here? {Copyeditor: Added}

- (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2000), 171; Luft, "Looking for Common Ground."
114. Rocky, interview, 11.
115. Wind, interview; Rocky, interview; Tom, interview.
116. KhAos, "Who Is Frodo, and Why Is He Not Here?," John Zerzan Papers, Coll 273, Special Collections and University Archives, University of Oregon Libraries, Eugene, OR, 2000, 1–2; Beans and Rice, "Privilege Is Invisible to Those Who Have It," *Earth First! Journal*, February 1, 2001, 26; a collaborative effort of wimmin and men, "Addressing Sexist Oppression at Fall Creek," *Insurgent*, July 2001; Mossy and Derrick, "Don't Let Oppression Silence You."
117. a collaborative effort of wimmin and men, "Addressing Sexist Oppression."
118. a collaborative effort of wimmin and men, "Addressing Sexist Oppression."
119. Otter, "An Open Letter to the First Nations Peoples: From One Member of the Red Cloud Thunder Tribe," n.d., <http://members.efn.org/~redcloud/FirstNations.html>; Otter, "Why 'Red Cloud Thunder?'," Cascadia Forest Defenders' website, n.d., <http://members.efn.org/~redcloud/WhyRedCloudThunder.html>.
120. Richard White, *It's Your Misfortune and None of My Own: A History of the American West*, vol. 1 (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991); William G. Robbins, *Landscapes of Promise: The Oregon Story, 1800–1940* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1997); Gray H. Whaley, *Oregon and the Collapse of Illahee: U.S. Empire and the Transformation of an Indigenous World, 1792–1859* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010).
121. Mossy and Derrick, "Don't Let Oppression Silence You."
122. Luft, "Looking for Common Ground," 8.
123. Circle, interview, 5.
124. Crow, interview, 1.
125. a collaborative effort of wimmin and men, "Addressing Sexist Oppression."
126. Wind, interview, 10, 18–19.
127. The quote is from Tom, interview, 7.
128. Squirrel, WhatsApp message; Tom, interview, 6–7; Crow, interview, 3.
129. Tom, interview, 7; Algae, interview, 5; Crow, interview, 5.
130. Tom, interview, 9; Crow, interview, 2.
131. Tom, interview, 9.
132. Benford, "Controlling Narratives," 55.
133. "CFD and Fall Creek Part Ways," *Earth First! Journal*, September 21, 2003.
134. Charlie, Cascadia Summer message board, October 8, 2003.
135. Crow, interview, 2.
136. The quote is from Ecofeminist Front, "Moving Beyond a History of Corsets and Clearcuts," *Earth First! Journal*, September 21, 2003.^{FFF}
137. Cascadia Forest Defenders' website, 2003,

^{FFF} Can more precise date be given? {Copyeditor: Done}

- <http://web.archive.org/web/20030414072312/http://www.efn.org/~cforestd/>; Natty, "Apex."
138. Owl, oral history interview by author, November 4, 2015, transcript, 2.
139. Widdow, "A Story of the Trans and/or Women's Action Camp and How It All Began," 31.
140. Owl, Facebook direct message, May 23, 2017.
141. Widdow, "A Story of the Trans and/or Women's Action Camp and How It All Began," 32.
142. kalamedy keen and Little Jennifer Rose, "Womyn and Trans Action Camp to Be Held Outside of Eugene OR," Open Publishing Newswire, *Portland Independent Media Center*, last modified March 1, 2004, <http://portland.indymedia.org/en/2004/03/281753.shtml>. The organizers of the women-only and women and trans action camps often spelled women as *womyn* or *wimmin*. I use this spelling when quoting from campaign materials about the camps but default to the standard spelling of the word the rest of the time.
143. Natty, "Apex."
144. k-tron, "Womens and Trans Action Camp May 6th through 9th!!!!," Open publishing newswire, *Portland Independent Media Center*, last modified May 2, 2005, <http://portland.indymedia.org/en/2005/05/316694.shtml>; Cascadia Forest Defenders, "Timber Auction Process, Wednesday, November 2nd," Open publishing newswire, *Portland Independent Media Center*, last modified October 27, 2005, <http://portland.indymedia.org/en/2005/10/327553.shtml>; Cascadia Forest Defenders, "Cascadia Action Camp!," Open publishing newswire, *Portland Indymedia*, last modified May 15, 2006, <http://portland.indymedia.org/en/2006/05/339449.shtml>.
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146. Hope, oral history interview by author, July 2, 2014; Emily, oral history interview by author, July 4, 2014; Rusty, interview; Ratty, oral history interview by author, July 8, 2014; Steve, oral history interview by author, June 18, 2014.
147. Cristina, interview, 2.
148. Cristina, interview, 7.
149. Puck, "Facing Off the Radical Environmental Lynch Mob," 30; Squirrel, WhatsApp message; Boudicca, personal communication with author.
150. Cristina, interview, 7–8.
151. Benford, "Controlling Narratives," 55.
152. Maiguashca, "'They're Talkin' Bout a Revolution'"; Coleman and Bassi, "Deconstructing Militant Manhood."
153. Michael Loadenthal, "Sexuality, Assault, Police Infiltration and Foucault: Notes for Further Inquiry," in *Annual Conference for the North American Anarchist Studies Network*, ed. Jeff Shantz and P. J. Lilley (Surrey: Thought Crimes, 2014), 63–87; Michael Loadenthal, "When Cops 'Go Native': Policing Revolution through Sexual Infiltration and Panopticonism," *Critical Studies on Terrorism* 7, no. 1 (2014): 24–42.^{GGG}

^{GGG} Surrey is a county—can city of publication be given? {Copyeditor:} Surrey is a city outside Vancouver BC, and this is where the conference took place. The publisher of the conference proceedings, Thought Crimes, is based in Surrey BC, but it's an imprint of Punctum Press based in Brooklyn.